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Article 7. The present treaty to be kept secret until the conclusion of a general peace.

. . . **Pan-American nations**, obeying a call from the governing board of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C., which includes the Secretary of State of the United States and ambassadors and ministers of the Latin-American countries stationed in Washington, will meet in convocation at a relatively early date to discuss the results of the war in Europe and the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference. Naturally whatever the Peace Congress may decide upon as to the representation of the Central and South American countries in a Society of Nations, and whatever may be urged or ordered at Paris with respect to all-American ratification of the Monroe Doctrine, would come before the convocation. It is intimated that the fifth Pan-American Congress also will discuss the advisability of eliminating all European sovereignty from South and Central America and from the West Indies; that it will arrange if possible better ways of settling inter-republic territorial disputes, and that it will foster increased Pan-American participation in world commerce. Presumably this congress will be held in Chile. Plans are also taking concrete form for summoning the second Pan-American Financial Congress and the third Pan-American Scientific Congress, both of which have been blocked by the war. These congresses when they meet will find that out of the war, with its indirect if not its direct consequences to the Americas, as a disrupter of civilization's normal ongoings, they have all come to see eye to eye as never before in the history of Pan-Americanism. Modes of accommodation between the Latin "cultur" of the Central and Southern republics and the Anglo-Celtic "cultur" of the United States will be far easier to find than formerly; and then the fact that they have a common foe in a defeated temporarily quiescent but still vigilant Teutonic commercial and banking enemy and in a rising propaganda of "Activist" class-conscious, bastard socialism led by Bolshevik adherents in cities as far apart as New York and Buenos Aires, and Chicago and Montevideo, cannot but lead to a closer rapprochement than has been possible at any prior sessions of these congresses.

. . . **The Provisional Polish Government** was accorded full recognition as a state by the United States, January 29, and thus was made formal and conclusive the pledge given by President Wilson as long ago as January 22, 1917, when he dared to inform the world that the Russian, German and Austrian claims to rule over Poles must be challenged and thwarted by the Allies and by the United States whenever the time came for them to deal with problems of European reconstruction. Often during the intervening two years the strife between classes, religions and nationalistic groups among the Poles has been so acute that it has seemed as if the United States never could make good its pledge. Of late the situation in inner Poland has been aggravated by famine, Jewish "pogroms" and the compulsion of having to fight not only German and Ukrainian forces, but also Bolshevik conspiracies and forcible invasion

by the Russian proletariat and its iconoclastic mobs. To the credit of Ignace Paderewski, who has had the backing of the more conservative Poles of the United States and France for several years, and also of General Pilsudski who had won the headship of the new state by his combined ability as a military leader and director of the political aspirations of the masses, the situation has begun to calm down. Special aid from the United States for Jews resident within the new state has been pledged in a most generous way, and the same Americans have been influential enough at Paris to induce the Inter-Allied Council of the Conference to send a special commission to Poland to investigate economic and political conditions and report back to the Conference.

## HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Demobilization of the Army of the United States on February 10 had passed the 1,135,570 men mark.

Animal casualties in the American Expeditionary Force in Europe, up to Christmas, had numbered 42,311.

France has accepted the offer of the American Forestry Association to aid substantially in reforesting the districts devastated by war which formerly were covered with timber.

Mr. Asquith in an address in London, favoring the League of Nations, given February 1, argued for internationalization of the control and transport of munitions of war.

A pontifical medal bearing the figure of Pope Benedict, with the inscription "Benedictus XV, Principis Pacis Vicarius" has been struck to commemorate the coming of peace.

On February 1, General Pershing, rebutting charges freely circulated in the press during the previous week, cabled: "Crimes by American soldiers in Paris almost negligible, considering the large number of men in the vicinity."

The House of Representatives of the legislature of Kansas has passed a resolution severely censuring Secretary of War Baker for ordering the release of "conscientious objectors" from Fort Leavenworth.

British ships are to convey from China to designated ports in Europe, mainly German, 2,000 "enemy subjects" of the Central Powers who have been interned, and are to be deported by March 1.

Japan's Peace Commissioners worshipped at the Imperial ancestral shrine in the Emperor's Palace just before officially bidding the nation's ruler farewell and beginning their journey to Paris.

The University of Wisconsin has enrolled five conspicuous Norwegian youth, sons of eminent men, who are to study engineering. Formerly they would have gone to German universities for their technical training.

Governor Stephens, of California, in his message to the legislature, in which he calls for a revision of the State constitution, favors State use of returned soldiers and sailors on public works, especially on the already authorized system of State highways.

Secretary of War Baker, January 25, announced that he would welcome a most searching investigation of the War Department's administration since he assumed charge, and that the books are open for any sort of probe lawmakers may care to make.

The House of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, now in session, will have at least 250 members who have served in the war; and their views respecting the future military and civilian policy of the nation no doubt will have much weight in determining legislation.

Passports for Negroes desiring to leave the United States to attend a Pan-American Congress in Paris, have been denied by the State Department, because the French government does not consider the present a favorable time to hold such a conference.

Ukrainian Canadians' petition that Ukrainian representatives be sent to Paris from Canada to assist in the Peace Conference has been rejected by the Ottawa government on the ground that no representatives of a special race or nationality were desired in Paris as speaking for Canada.

The war and its consequences have greatly stimulated interest among the Japanese in problems of international relations. During the three weeks following the signing of the armistice the number of subscriptions for the London *Times* taken in Tokio by the paper's agent was double the number taken during the year 1917.

The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate has received a protest from the New Korea Association of the United States urging that American influence be used to let Korea settle for herself on the principle of "self-determination" whether she wishes to be a subject province of Japan or not.

The War Department of the United States, on January 24, issued an order that soldiers were not to be discharged against their will and before they had found jobs enabling them to be self-supporting. This action was taken to relieve the unemployment situation throughout the country which was threatening to become acute.

The Peace Conference has before it a petition signed by thousands of women, maidens, and children of France and Belgium, who were systematically captured and deported by Germans and made to suffer manifold indignities, asking for justice. The petitioners close their petition with these words: "To forever prevent the recurrence of such atrocities we ask that those who executed them and those who ordered them be condemned as criminals of the common law."

Secretary of War Baker and the House Military Committee decided, January 15, to postpone all reorganization of the U. S. Army until the next Congress has assembled, until the uncertainties of the situation in Europe have cleared up, and until public opinion at home has been clarified considerably as to the duty of the nation. Secretary Baker also announces that not until the Peace Congress has acted will he discuss universal military training.

Fifty-four bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States and fourteen of the bishops of the Church of England in Canada urged formally use by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York of their influence with the British Government's representatives at the Peace Conference to induce the latter to rehabilitate the Assyrian Christians of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Persia. An assenting response was received.

Representatives of the three leading Albanian groups resident in the United States, on January 11, sent to President Wilson the following appeal, relative to Italy and its ambitions in Albania: "In the name of 80,000 Albanians residing in free and liberty-loving America, who represent the Nation that has no freedom of expression, we come to appeal to the great man of the world to intervene with the Italian Government to unite fully with your great and sacred principles in laying a just foundation for our long-suffering Nation that it may enjoy in the new era of the world complete independence without any protectorate and with its own ethnographic and natural boundaries."

Efforts have been made both in Canada and in the United States, by champions of the outlawed or attacked liquor business to make it appear that with the return of the soldiers from abroad they would compel a repeal of "prohibition" or thwart its enforcement. In the United States it has been shown that propaganda to this effect has been carried on by "bought" news-distributing associations. In the United States the brewers and distillers also have used advertisements trying to make it appear that there was some subtle relation between the forces making for prohibition and "Bolshevism."

Sir Wilfred Laurier, addressing Eastern Ontario Liberals in mid January, announced that he still adhered to the plan for reciprocity in trade with the United States. He rejoiced in the one hundred years of peace between Canada and the United States, and looked forward to much closer bonds of unity as the result of co-operation during the war, and during the coming reconstruction period. The convention passed a resolution reading thus: "One of the most pressing necessities of the hour is the restoration to the Canadian people of a public press freed from the 'interests' and the smothering control of a Prussian paternalism, so that Liberal doctrines may be freely disseminated among the great mass of our citizens."

The American Federation of Labor's reconstruction committee, submitted to the Senate's committee on education and labor, January 14, a program for which that important organization will stand and in behalf of which it will use its influence, but not through a political party. Plank 12 of the platform reads: Providing for a small standing army and voluntary State militia. Plank 13 is as follows: Providing for the free transportation of discharged soldiers and sailors to their homes and the continuance of their monthly salaries for not to exceed twelve months, if employment is not secured within that period. The American Labor Party of Greater New York, which has been founded mainly by members of the Central Federation of Labor, N. Y. City, and which hopes to become the nucleus of a national labor party, on January 13, formulated a platform which includes among its planks one calling for a popular referendum ere war can be declared by Congress and carried on by the Executive arm of government, and another, which opposes universal military training.

After-war emergencies facing the leading evangelical Protestant denominations of the United States has led fourteen of them to decide upon a campaign to raise \$10,000,000. The money, if raised, is to be spent for the following purposes: "Maintaining additional pastors to assist the regular chaplains in ministering to the soldiers and sailors, especially the sick and those recovering from wounds. Providing adequate equipment and workers for local churches in the neighborhood of ports of debarkation, in camps, and industrial centers. Supplying Bibles and other books, equipment, and emergency funds to army and navy chaplains during the period of demobilization. Assisting church colleges to readjust themselves upon the discontinuance of the students' army training corps. Providing scholarships for returning soldiers who would not otherwise be able to complete their college courses. Assisting in the restoration and extension of the evangelical churches of Europe, especially in the war zone."

The world-wide scourge of influenza, followed by pneumonia, during 1918 was responsible for not less than 6,000,000 deaths throughout the world. Of these at least 200,000 were in the United States. Medical men know of no similar wholesale devastation in the history of the race. The segregated life of the army barrack, cantonment or camp of course plays into the hand of death. Thus, among the forces in camps in the United States during the last six months of 1918, the rate of death per one thousand men was 32.15 per cent, and of this unprecedented aggregate 30.7 per cent was due to influenza and pneumonia. Prior to the advent of this plague the United States Army was on the way to make an unusually low record for death from disease, as during the

period prior to September the rate of death was only 6.37 per 1,000 persons.

Secretary of War Baker, on January 22, ordered the release from Fort Leavenworth of 113 "conscientious objectors," the remission of the unexecuted portions of their sentences, "their honorable restoration to duty," and their immediate discharge. Persons whose "objections," on careful investigation, had been found to be insincere, must serve their sentences. This action of the Secretary undoubtedly was due to the sense of fair play and justice which he personally has shown to the objectors, whatever may have been the shortcomings of persons charged with responsibility for execution of American military law, which, as a system, also is now under attack. His action also, no doubt, was hastened by the steady pressure of thousands of petitioners and of journalists, including the powerful *New York World*, calling for a post-war attitude of clemency.

The call sent forth to five hundred of the leading women of the United States and Canada for a "Victory dinner and conference," to be held in the city of Washington, D. C., on February 12th, reads as follows: "We believe that the unified effort made necessary by the war to meet the elemental human needs of the world—food, health, the right to work and to education—should be continued. Under the impulse of a great international purpose we learned how properly to subordinate national ambitions and political and private interests in order to supply these common needs of man. A League of Nations can be made effective only by continued international co-operation, good-will, and sacrifice. What was done for a world at war must be done for a world at peace." The aim of the projectors was, through this assembly, to voice the opinion of American women on international as well as national policies and to let the American Peace Commissioners know what the will of womanhood in the *New World* is.

Mr. Bryan's platform of reconstruction for his country, as defined by him in the January *Commoner*, includes these planks:

1. Universal peace built upon a treaty so just that it will forever prevent war.

2. The American soldiers and sailors have proven themselves to be the best in the world; they are, on return to civil life, entitled to the best treatment that a grateful nation can give. Demobilization should be completed at the earliest possible moment consistent with conditions and our obligations. Provision should be made for vocational training for those permanently injured, for land grants to those desiring to farm and for the employment of others on public works until they are absorbed by the industries of the country. Soldiers' and sailors' insurance by the Government at cost should be continued after the war.

3. The expenses of the Government should be reduced to a peace basis as rapidly as possible and in the making of reductions relief should be given first to those least able to bear the burden of taxation. Special interests should not be permitted to shift the burdens of the war upon the people by the restoration of high protective tariffs. All unnecessary war contracts should be cancelled immediately.

11. Universal military training is inconsistent with our institutions. The victory which we have won for democracy would be a failure and a defeat for our principles if it compelled us to adopt a military system which was deemed unnecessary before we entered the war. Physical betterment should be secured through compulsory courses in physical culture in our schools, colleges and universities, which should include thorough physical examination, athletic exercises, games, contests, etc.

In the brief of the Government, filed in the United States Supreme Court, January 24, in the case of appeal by Eugene V. Debs from a decision of a lower court sentencing him to ten years' imprisonment for conflict with the terms of the Espionage Act, it was argued that: "Since the Supreme Court recently held in the selective draft cases that Congress had the power of depriving a man of his liberty, even of his

life, for the purpose of raising an army, 'surely for this same purpose of raising an army Congress may require the citizens to refrain from a deliberate willful obstruction of the process of obtaining the requisite number of fighting men.'"

Replying to contentions that the act interferes with the freedom of speech, the Government brief said: "No authority can be adduced for the defendant's contention that there is a constitutional right to obstruct by speech the exercise of power to raise armies so long as the speaker does not urge a violation of law. If, as has been held by this court, punishment may constitutionally be meted out for a willful obstruction of the administration of justice, it is difficult to see why the administration of the war powers of Congress is not entitled to the same protection. The events of 1917 showed that war may become as essential as justice to the preservation of our democratic form of government."

Some of the words from the charge to the jury by Judge Landis of Chicago, in the case of the Federal Government versus Victor L. Berger, Congressman-elect from Milwaukee, in which he and four other leading socialists of the mid-West were found guilty of breaking the Espionage Act, deserve to be quoted for their bearing on the issue of freedom of speech in time of war. Judge Landis said: "If it was the conscious purpose of a defendant or the defendants to state the truth as he or they saw it, and to do this clearly and persuasively, in order to lead others to see things in the same way, with the object of bringing about a modification, a reconstruction, or reshaping of national policy, in accordance with what he or they believed to be right or true, and unless obstruction of the recruiting and enlistment service was his or their object, or injury of the military or naval forces of the United States or opposition to the success of the United States in the war intended, the jury should find him or them not guilty. The defendants had a right to entertain, communicate and advocate in good faith their religious, economic, and political opinions, and their views respecting the war, its causes and effects, and anything involved in, related to, or growing out of the war. Against this right the law is not aimed, and if this is what the defendants have done they are not guilty. The law punishes only the bad faith communication and advocacy, the communication and advocacy that consciously, purposely seeks to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty, or to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service; and in this the law invades no man's constitutional right of free speech."

The effort of the Commercial Cable Company and the Commercial Pacific Cable Company to secure from the Federal court in New York City an order enjoining the Government, and more especially Postmaster General Burleson, from operating these lines, failed, owing to an adverse decision by Judge Learned Hand. Part of his formal negative decree is interesting and therefore here quoted because it deals with two phases of a large problem that is of interest to all persons of all countries, namely the powers of government in time of war over means of communication and publicity. Said Judge Hand: "The terms of the final conventions, the success of the nation in achieving the aims with which it set out and which it may have adopted during the progress of war, are the measure of national security and defense. These aims, whatever they are, are deemed essential to some vital national interest, not necessarily confined to freedom from immediate invasion. It may destroy the armed opposition of the enemy and wholly fail in securing its defense of those interests. The President is charged by his function of negotiating, for presentation to the Senate, a treaty of peace, with the duty of reducing to preliminary form the success which the arms of the nation may have made possible. His right to hold the cables for such purposes, if valid at all, certainly was not affected by the armistice.

"Had the possession of the plaintiff's cables any relation to the negotiation of peace; Obviously the possession of some telegraphic communication is essential, leading not only to the immediate place where the negotiations may go on, but to any part of the world which may be affected by or may

affect the result. Many nations have been involved, many may intervene in the conference; no one can at the moment predict to what part of the world immediate, secret, and rapid communication may become a vital necessity for the success of the nation's purposes. Again, as in assistance to the conduct of war, if the cables be appropriate to a discharge of the President's constitutional duty, the number seized and the service rendered under Governmental operation is not open to examination. The decision may be wrong; it may even be actuated by purposes other than those intended by Congress, but the relief is not from judges. The considerations which might dictate it are so obviously political in character as to preclude the possibility of their public disclosure or of their judicial determination."

## WHAT MEN AND WOMEN SAY

Spain is a progressive nation and is disposed to live within the concert of nations.—King Alfonso of Spain, in the *Madrid Review*, January 10.

President Wilson inspires the greatest confidence. He reminds one of St. Paul. His is the sole great mind the war has revealed. The 20th century ought to be called Wilson's Century.—Pope Benedict XV, January 11, in a statement published by one of his secretaries in a Roman journal.

I feel convinced that the future of aviation is not in warfare but in commerce.—Col. William A. Bishop, V. C., D. S., Q. M. C., the renowned Canadian "ace," who brought down 72 German planes.

I covet for my country a great place among the nations. I wish nothing else than that America may be first in service to mankind.—Ambassador J. W. Davis, at a dinner in his honor, London, January 15.

Those persons who stand against all international co-operation are standing against the very trend of business life, the trend of labor organization, the trend of the centuries.—Secretary of the Interior Lane, speaking to the Merchants Association, New York City, January 15.

You will never see the Kaiser again. Circumstances have wiped him out of the world's history. Legally speaking my father is dead.—Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the former head of the Hohenzollerns.

Women's work in connection with the war has not really begun yet; that will begin in the reconstruction of the home life after the men get home from the war.—The Honorable Mrs. Lyttleton.

It would be a ghastly thing if President Wilson should fail to have the undivided support of Americans at a time when he is becoming the most potential figure in the political councils of the world.—Rabbi S. S. Wise of New York City, in an interview following a visit to Paris in the interests of Zionism.

In the face of what one sees in France among American troops, any individual who would say that the sons of American parents are coming back as incipient drunkards or weakened morally must be swayed by some ulterior motive. Such a person slanders the finest type of manhood the world has ever seen in any army, and is not fit to breathe the same atmosphere.—Brig. Gen. Johnston, U. S. A.

This is no time to talk of peace leagues. To do so is to be guilty of Nero's folly while Rome was burning. We should hasten rather to restore peace, resume normal commercial relations, lessen the intolerable burdens of taxation, and speed up production.—Hon. James M. Beck, before American Defense League, New York City, January 19.

We must have a peace as absolute as was our success and which will guard us against all future aggressions. France

has a right to effective measures of protection after the formidable efforts she has put forth to save civilization. The natural frontier which will protect civilization is the Rhine.—Marshal Foch, interview with the Associated Press, January 17.

America today is looked upon as the hope of the world.—Archbishop Cerretti, Papal Under Secretary of State, arriving on special mission to the United States, January 18.

We Italians are Wilsonian, but on one condition, that other nations are the same. If we did not lay down this condition and make this reservation, we would not be Wilsonian; we should merely be ingenuous.—Signor Tittoni, former Italian Foreign Minister, at Colonial Congress, Rome, January 24.

Never again will organized working men and women watch with folded arms while laws are made and treaties signed which barter away their economic rights.—President Samuel F. Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, in an interview, January 9, just as he started for Paris.

I am not concerned with the Soviet government or with any of the factions we have been supporting in Russia. My concern is with boys drafted for a war in Germany and sent to war with Russia. I want these American boys brought home at once.—Senator Hiram Johnson of California, in a speech to the Senate, January 23.

I want every citizen of the British Empire and every citizen of the great American Republic to feel that they are joint trustees for civilization and the world for those principles of peace and liberty for which we are all struggling at this moment.—Arthur J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in an article in the *Landwork Magazine*, January 28.

A League of Nations seems to me to be prerequisite to disarmament in the necessary degree, to the interchange of commodities among nations under rational and equitable conditions, to the freedom of the seas, and to development of the proper attitude and practice in reference to the backward territories of the world.—Secretary Houston of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, in address to the Association of Agricultural Colleges, January 8.

No peace which is not partially socialistic will safe-guard the world from future wars. President Wilson has this in mind. It is his "fifteenth point" as yet unstated, which must be developed before a treaty is signed. Peace must be economic and social as well as political. Hungary's policy in everything will be Wilson, Wilsoner, Wilsonest.—Count Michael Karolyi, Hungarian Premier, interview with the United Press, January 11.

The greatest question before the country and the world today is, How shall the fruits of labor be distributed. The ancient theory that the great majority are destined to oscillate on the verge of starvation has passed. New standards of conscience will not admit it. The war has remade the world; now that we have fought to end wars between peoples, we must fight to end wars between classes.—Senator Cummins of Iowa, in an address, January 28.

Doubtless there will be in the gathering of the representatives at the Peace Conference men of superior mold, of Catholic sentiment, men who like our own President, seek not momentary triumph but lasting results. But they will be few and their opponents will be powerful. To God, therefore in this great affair, the world's war-distracted humanity must turn so that principles, not interest alone, prevail for the common welfare of the earth.—Cardinal O'Connell in an episcopal letter to the Roman Catholics of the archdiocese of Boston, Mass.

Strong and normal, Russia is a wall against all the injuries of dark power, no matter whence they come. But woe to us